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Provisional

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Friday, 30 June 1995, 12 noon
New York

President:	Mr. Graf zu Rantzau	(Germany)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cárdenas
	Botswana	Mr. Legwaila
	China	Mr. Qin Huasun
	Czech Republic	Mr. Kovanda
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	Honduras	Mr. Martínez Blanco
	Indonesia	Mr. Wisnumurti
	Italy	Mr. Ferrarin
	Nigeria	Mr. Ayewah
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Sidorov
	Rwanda	Mr. Ubalijoro
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David Hannay
	United States of America	Mrs. Albright

Agenda

The situation in Liberia

Eleventh progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (S/1995/473)

95-85579 (E)

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The meeting was called to order at 12.20 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Liberia

Eleventh progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (S/1995/473)

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Liberia in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Bull (Liberia) took a place at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the eleventh progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia, document S/1995/473.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1995/521, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

The first speaker is the representative of Liberia, on whom I now call.

Mr. Bull (Liberia): You have climaxed your very successful tour of duty at the United Nations, Sir, with a brilliant performance as President of the Security Council for the month of June. On the eve of your departure I should like to join your many colleagues in wishing you every success in your future endeavours. The skilful manner in which you have presided over the work of the Council is evidence of your vast experience and outstanding skills as a diplomat.

Your predecessor, Ambassador Mérimée, also deserves our congratulations for his effective leadership of the Council during the month of May.

The delegation of Liberia would like to thank the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for the eleventh progress report on the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL), contained in document S/1995/473 of 10 June 1995. The Government and the people of Liberia deeply appreciate his abiding interest in and contribution to the peaceful resolution of the Liberian conflict. The report of the Secretary-General provides a detailed assessment of the peace process, its successes and shortcomings, and makes relevant observations and recommendations for the consideration of the Security Council.

We fully endorse the Secretary-General's recommendation that UNOMIL's mandate be extended, and we join in his appeal to Member States to contribute to the United Nations Trust Fund for Liberia and to assist the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and particularly its peace-keeping Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), in the discharge of its onerous duties in Liberia.

The Secretary-General's proposal for an extension of the mandate is justified in view of several positive developments in the peace process: the substantial measure of agreement among the Liberian factions as acknowledged by the Heads of State and Government of the ECOWAS Committee of Nine on Liberia during their summit meeting at Abuja, Federal Republic of Nigeria, from 17 to 20 May 1995; the visit of the leader of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), Mr. Charles Taylor, to Nigeria; the recent assumption by the Liberian National Transitional Government of administrative control of two additional political subdivisions of the country and the designation of those subdivisions as safe havens; and steps being taken to remove land mines on the Monrovia-Gbarnga highway and in other areas, in fulfilment of one of the important requirements of the disarmament process.

These are encouraging developments; however, we are aware of the rather slow progress in the peace process and the resulting high cost to the international community, particularly to the States members of the Economic Community of West African States which

continue to maintain a peace-keeping force in Liberia. The apparent lack of resolve on the part of leaders of the warring factions to honour their various undertakings has increased the scepticism of the international community as well as that of the Liberian people with regard to their political will and their intention to end the war.

It is my delegation's firm belief that the persistent demands of the international community that the factional leaders end the war and the suffering of the Liberian people have facilitated the progress achieved in the peace process thus far. Without the pressure and the active support of the United Nations, the Liberian conflict would long ago have degenerated into a state of anarchy. It is for this reason that my delegation would urge the reconsideration of any action by the United Nations which would suggest an abandonment of Liberia. Such an action would only embolden the warring factions to accelerate the use of arms and terror to achieve their political ends at the cost of increased suffering for the Liberian people.

There are several important measures which have not been implemented by the Liberian factions, including the installation of the Council of State, a comprehensive cease-fire, the disengagement of forces and the disarmament of combatants. Another matter of continuing concern is the violation by some Member States of the arms embargo on Liberia imposed by the Security Council in 1992.

The Liberian delegation renews its appeal to the leaders of the warring factions to implement without further delay the decisions I have mentioned. Experience has shown that with the active involvement of the United Nations these seemingly insurmountable problems can be resolved. It is therefore our sincere hope that this Organization will maintain its commitment to Liberia until genuine peace is achieved.

We convey our profound appreciation to all Member States, to States members of the Economic Community of West African States, and to non-governmental organizations for their support, and we appeal for continued humanitarian assistance to Liberia. In this connection, we endorse the draft resolution now before the Council and urge its unanimous adoption.

The legitimate aspiration of the Liberian people to live in peace and rebuild their lives following a devastating civil war is a fundamental human right which must not be denied them. And we believe that in the foreseeable future this Organization will be increasingly challenged by such problems and that it has a moral obligation to remain resolute in advancing the peace, development and well-being of all peoples. Our common humanity and interdependence demand nothing less.

The President: I thank the representative of Liberia for the kind words he addressed to me.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Ayewah (Nigeria): The Secretary-General's eleventh progress report (S/1995/473) dated 10 June 1995, on the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) presents a dismal and fairly depressing picture of the current situation in Liberia. It underscores in particular the continuing political, military and humanitarian difficulties confronting the country and the necessity to further explore modalities for advancing the peace process.

None the less, we must place on record the value of the continuing efforts of States members of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in moving forward the peace process in Liberia, including the recent ECOWAS summit of the Committee of Nine, which was held in Abuja, Nigeria, from 17 to 20 May 1995. Although the summit was unable to record the expected breakthrough in all aspects of the Liberian political crisis, it did, in our view, produce substantial agreements on a number of contentious issues, including the composition of the Council of State. Moreover, it reaffirmed the commitment and determination of the Heads of State and Government of ECOWAS member States to assist the Liberian people in bringing peace to their country.

While it recognizes the limited progress that was made in Abuja, my delegation cannot but restate its disappointment at the inability of the Liberian factions and political leaders to rise above their individual ambitions, in the higher interest of peace, stability and national reconciliation, by committing themselves to the implementation of the agreements they reached and signed — from Cotonou through Akosombo to Accra. As we have stated on several occasions, we see it as true and

self-evident that the Liberian factions and political leaders bear the ultimate responsibility for finding a lasting solution to their political crisis.

The efforts of ECOWAS and of the international community can only be catalytic and complementary to those of Liberians themselves. It therefore behoves the Liberians to take advantage of the window of opportunity offered by the current positive momentum of the peace process and the cooperation being extended to them by the international community and ECOWAS, especially through its Monitoring Group (ECOMOG).

ECOMOG, we are proud to state, represents a first-case initiative by a subregional organization within the ambit of regional arrangements in crisis management and conflict resolution in respect of a situation that threatened not only the survival of a country but also regional and international peace and security. This no doubt gives practical expression to the cooperation envisaged in Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter between regional organizations and the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security. The initiative of ECOMOG in Liberia was a pre-emptive bid to avoid chaos, destabilization and the total destruction of a country. It is a significant contribution to the peace process in that country. We are certain that, but for the timely intervention of ECOMOG, the history of Liberia would today be significantly different. These efforts therefore deserve to be acknowledged, encouraged and fully supported, and not construed or presented in any way to suggest that they constitute an impediment to the peace process. In this connection, we see merit in the concertation of efforts and the harmonization of views of all concerned in the search for solutions to the Liberian question.

With respect to the mandate of UNOMIL, my delegation had hoped for a renewal of at least three months, until 30 September 1995, as recommended by the Secretary-General in his report. In our view, such a time-frame is the minimum required for the Liberian parties to deliver fully on the new commitments they undertook in Abuja, as well as to enable the consultations that are currently taking place in the subregion, including the projected meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Committee of Nine, to fructify. We are of the view that any undue shortening of the period would send a negative message to the factions in Liberia and could result in a full-scale resumption of fratricidal warfare.

UNOMIL's presence in Liberia is important not so much for its force level, which we would have wished to see at full strength, as for its symbolic and psychological implication as a demonstration of continued United Nations interest and involvement in the Liberian peace process. Any precipitate withdrawal or draw-down of UNOMIL's force level would send a wrong message to the Liberian people and the other countries of the subregion by conveying the impression that the United Nations was abandoning them in their hour of need. We are encouraged that, at least for now, there is no such intention on the part of the United Nations.

Equally important is the fact that the role of UNOMIL in Liberia can have form and consistency only if ECOMOG is enabled fully to discharge its obligations and responsibilities in the territory. There is therefore a need to assist ECOMOG with logistics and financial resources so that it can deliver on its commitments. Without a viable ECOMOG, UNOMIL's role and effectiveness in Liberia will be seriously constrained. We need to avoid this possibility.

As we anticipate a continued and reinvigorated United Nations presence in Liberia, let me state that my Government stands ready, together with other members of ECOWAS, to participate in the consultations that the Secretary-General intends to undertake prior to making his recommendations to the Security Council on the future of UNOMIL.

The unresolved political crisis in Liberia remains worrisome to the subregion. We therefore call on the Liberian factions and political leaders to make earnest efforts towards the full and immediate implementation of the Cotonou, Akosombo and Accra agreements, as a significant starting-point, as well as the agreements reached in Abuja, particularly regarding the composition of the Council of State. We further call on them to make additional but sustained efforts towards the installation of the Council of State, the re-establishment of a comprehensive cease-fire and the demobilization of all forces. We expect no less from them. They must be reminded that the patience and resources of the region and those of the international community are wearing thin. They must accept the logic of peace.

My Government has spared no efforts in contributing to the search for peace in Liberia. It will continue to do so, even within the constraints of its own limited resources, in the hope that the Liberian people will soon be able to resume their normal life and embark

on a process of national reconciliation, reconstruction and rehabilitation.

In view of the foregoing, my delegation supports the intent of this draft resolution and will vote in favour of it.

Mr. Wisnumurti (Indonesia): My delegation, at the outset, would like to register its sincere appreciation to the Secretary-General for his informative and useful report contained in document S/1995/473 of 10 June 1995, the eleventh in the series of progress reports on the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL).

We would like to express our appreciation to the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Mr. Anthony Nyakyi, as well as to the leaders of the member States of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) for their untiring efforts to bring about peace in Liberia. In this context, we commend the convening of the Third Meeting of Heads of State and Government of the ECOWAS Committee of Nine on Liberia held in Abuja last month, which was aimed at coordinating and harmonizing their policies on Liberia. We share the view that the harmonization of ECOWAS policies on Liberia will greatly foster their combined efforts to bring the crisis, which has gone on for far too long, to an end. We note further that without such harmonization, the lack of which has become one of the significant obstacles to the peace process, the cooperation of the faction leaders in the peace process will be difficult to secure.

Some developments have occurred in Liberia over the past few months, but unfortunately they still do not create a climate conducive to the attainment of peace, stability and national reconciliation. The factions and political leaders, regrettably, are still unable to break the deadlock in reaching a final agreement towards the installation of the Council of State which, we believe, would contribute greatly to the search for peace and reconciliation in Liberia. It is my delegation's fervent hope that the follow-up consultations on this matter will result in a final agreement on the installation of the Council of State.

We share the assessment of the Secretary-General that the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) will not be able to carry out its mandate successfully without the cooperation and support of the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), as well as that of the warring factions. In this regard, we welcome the intention of the Secretary-General to consult ECOWAS with a view to enhancing cooperation between UNOMIL and ECOMOG and defining a joint concept of operations. In the same vein, we urge the Liberian parties to overcome their deep mistrust of one another and their unwillingness to share power in governing the country, which have kept them from extending the necessary cooperation.

We would also like to express our deep concern over the continued flow of arms into Liberia, in violation of the arms embargo, across the borders and from sources within Liberia. In this regard, we support the request of the ECOWAS leaders to ECOMOG and UNOMIL to improve the existing monitoring mechanism in order to stem the flow of arms into the country.

Another issue of concern to the Indonesian delegation is the continued blocking by the contending factions of access routes for the delivery of relief supplies. We therefore call on all Liberian parties to provide guarantees for the safety of humanitarian assistance delivery throughout the country in order to alleviate the unnecessary suffering of the civilian population.

My delegation also regrets that the Liberian leaders have still not laid down their arms for the greater good of their country, in spite of the many opportunities that have been provided by the international community to implement the various agreements they themselves have signed. Since the political future of Liberia depends on the Liberians themselves, they must therefore strive to demonstrate further their political will and sustained commitment to peace and stability in their country.

The draft resolution on Liberia before us today, *inter alia*, extends the mandate of UNOMIL to 15 September 1995 and declares the Council's readiness to consider restoring UNOMIL to its full strength if significant progress in the peace process in Liberia is achieved during the next extension of the mandate.

In view of the considerations that I have just mentioned, Indonesia will vote in favour of the draft resolution. This position is also based on our hope that during the next extension of the mandate the Liberian parties will avail themselves of this new opportunity to demonstrate, through concrete steps, their political will to resolve their own problems and to respect the role of international, regional and subregional organizations.

In this context, we urge the Liberian parties to see this extension as an opportunity to strive for substantial progress on all outstanding issues that remain unresolved,

particularly the installation of the Council of State, the re-establishment of a comprehensive and effective cease-fire, the disengagement of all forces and the creation of an agreed timetable and schedule for the implementation of all other aspects of the Akosombo and Accra agreements. The extension, we believe, could also contribute to the efforts of the ECOWAS Ministers of the Committee of Nine to reconvene a meeting of the Liberian parties in order to assist them in resolving those outstanding issues.

Mr. Legwaila (Botswana): Let me start, Sir, by expressing regret that this meeting represents the twilight of your very successful presidency. At midnight tonight you will retire from the helm of our Council and, as your professional fate has it, we learn that you will also be retiring from the diplomatic service of your great country. Allow me to extend to you my delegation's best wishes for the future.

I doubt if there is any member of this Council who does not share the frustration we must all feel at the failure to date to find a solution to the tragedy of Liberia. Yet we in the Botswana delegation continue to hold firm to our conviction that it would be unconscionable for the Council to lose hope in the search for peace in Liberia. The intractability of the situation in that tortured country is no doubt discouraging, but it would be wrong for this Council to give up trying to find a solution to it. We should not fail to use the opportunity within our grasp to give impetus to encouraging political developments in the area. The Abuja summit meeting of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Heads of State and Government of the Committee of Nine on Liberia brought about dialogue among the Liberian parties and political leaders. The assessment of the ECOWAS Heads of State and Government was that:

> "a substantial measure of agreement had emerged among the parties on nearly all the issues that had remained unresolved" *(S/1995/473, annex I, para. 6)*.

The Security Council should encourage this process, as it holds a considerable degree of hope for peace in Liberia.

The Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Ambassador Nyakyi, last week informed the Council that the people of Liberia would very much like to see a continued presence of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL). The primary victims of the tragedy in Liberia are the civilian population. They have been subjected to all forms of atrocities. Their most fundamental human right, the right to life, is violated with impunity. There is no one to protect them, as they have lost control of the political process to the rule of the gun. The United Nations is their source of hope, and the presence of UNOMIL assures them that the international community is actively engaged in the search for solutions to their tragedy. The States of the subregion that have committed substantial human and material resources to the pursuit of peace in Liberia have clearly stated that the contribution of UNOMIL to the peace process in Liberia far outweighs its numerical strength.

The Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) has played an enormous role in alleviating the pain and suffering of the Liberian people. It has contributed to new experience in the responsibilities of regional organizations in the maintenance of peace and security under Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter. My delegation strongly believes that their efforts provide important lessons for future peace-keeping operations and deserve the full support of the Security Council and the international community as a whole.

The draft resolution before us outlines a number of pertinent issues. It draws the attention of the political leaders of Liberia to the readiness of the Security Council to restore the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) to its full strength and to contribute to post-conflict peace-building in their country provided that they demonstrate a corresponding readiness to place their country and people above their differences by taking urgent steps to install a Council of State which, in the view of my delegation, would facilitate agreement on the other issues stated in paragraph 4 (b) and (d) of the draft. We call upon the Liberian parties and political leaders to cooperate fully with the Ministers of the Committee of Nine of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) to resolve outstanding issues within the period of the extended mandate of UNOMIL.

The international community should play its part to help the peace process in Liberia. The Liberian parties continue to receive arms and ammunition in violation of resolution 788 (1992). The Heads of State and Government of the Committee of Nine on Liberia of the Economic Community of West African States have appealed to the international community to provide appropriate assistance to enable them to monitor the land and sea borders of Liberia. The States in the subregion have a pivotal role to play in the monitoring and stemming of the flow of arms to Liberia. We welcome their commitment to report violations of the arms

embargo to the United Nations sanctions committee. The positive response of the international community would therefore contribute substantially to addressing one of the root causes of the endless fratricidal war in Liberia.

It is the sincere hope of my delegation that the Liberian parties and political leaders will rise to the challenge of the moment by seizing the opportunity to make peace for the sake of their people. It would be most unfortunate if selfish, personal interests were to continue to occupy centre stage in that country. This extension of the UNOMIL mandate may be their very last chance.

The President: I thank the representative of Botswana for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Qin Huasun (China) *(interpretation from Chinese)*: The conflict in Liberia has dragged on for five years, exacting a heavy toll on the economy and the life and property of the Liberian people, as well as posing a threat to peace and security in neighbouring countries and in western Africa as a whole. In recent years, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) has made tremendous efforts and sacrifices in the search for a settlement of the Liberian question even as its members struggle with their own economic difficulties. They have sent peace-keeping forces to Liberia in accordance with Chapter VIII of the Charter. Heads of State and Government concerned in the region have met on many occasions to offer good offices and mediation with a view to seeking a solution acceptable to all parties that will facilitate the political settlement of the Liberian question. We have noted from the recent report of the Secretary-General that these efforts have yielded initial results. The parties in Liberia have tentatively agreed on the installation of the Council of State and are ready to hold further talks with a view to working out an agreement. These are welcome developments.

However, we should also be aware that no remarkable progress has been achieved thus far in the peace process in Liberia, as evidenced by continuing military conflict, the obstruction of humanitarian relief efforts and the continued flow of large amounts of arms into Liberia. We are deeply concerned over this situation.

The repeated setbacks in the Liberian peace process have once again proved that peace cannot be achieved by military means. Persistence in patient negotiations in good faith and dialogue are the only way to a political solution acceptable to all the conflicting parties. What is important in this regard is the political will of the parties to commit themselves to a peaceful settlement and their resolute renunciation of military means. For this reason, we hope that the parties in Liberia will put State and national interests first and cooperate with the United Nations and ECOWAS, strictly comply with the agreements already reached and the relevant Security Council resolutions, and take practical and effective measures to stop all hostilities so as to create conditions for the final achievement of national reconciliation.

We have always maintained that the Security Council should attach the same importance to the settlement of conflicts in Africa as it does to conflicts on other continents and support the reasonable demands of the African countries and peoples, and should refrain from applying double standards when it comes to considering peace-keeping operations in Africa.

The Chinese Government and people have steadfastly supported the peace process in Liberia, as well as the efforts of the international community and ECOWAS for peace in Liberia. China has contributed military observers to UNOMIL and will provide rice, tents and other assistance worth RMB yuan 3 million to Liberia. The Liberian peace process is now at a critical moment when it must forge ahead or it will be driven back. The Chinese delegation believes that the adoption of the draft resolution before us will help advance the peace process in Liberia and we will therefore vote in favour of it.

Mr. Martínez Blanco (Honduras) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: Firstly, my delegation would like to thank the Secretary-General for the Eleventh Progress Report on the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) (S/1995/473).

After considering this report, my delegation would like to express its regret that no significant progress has been achieved in Liberia and that the parties have as yet not reached a final agreement to install a Council of State and re-establish the cease-fire, measures essential to the implementation of the Accra Agreement.

The summit meeting of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) held in Abuja, Nigeria, in May demonstrates that some progress has been made on installing the Council of State and that a meeting of the parties to prepare an agreement in this regard is expected. We are not underrating this progress. However, questions remain unsolved which are relevant to ending the crisis in Liberia. The parties must agree to

an effective cease-fire, a separation of forces and a timetable and schedule for the peace process. Until hostilities in Liberia cease, the number of refugees and displaced persons will increase, violations of human rights will continue and the humanitarian situation will further deteriorate.

In his report, the Secretary-General recommends that a new opportunity be given to the parties to take concrete steps demonstrating their political will to end the crisis. In principle, and in view of the progress made in Abuja, my delegation agrees with this recommendation provided, however, that the parties fully cooperate in achieving peace by the end of the three-month period proposed. If the parties do not avail themselves of this opportunity, the presence of the United Nations in Liberia can no longer be justified and, as indicated in the report, it might be envisaged that UNOMIL become a good offices mission with a small military cell which would maintain liaison with ECOMOG.

My delegation, which participated in the preparation of the draft resolution now before the Council, is of the view that it contains a clear and concise message for the parties: if, within the period for which UNOMIL's mandate in Liberia is to be extended, they do not comply with four essential requirements, namely, the installation of the Council of State, the re-establishment of the cease-fire, the disengagement of all forces and the creation of an agreed timetable and schedule for the implementation of all other aspects of the agreements, in particular the disarmament process, the Council, following the submission of a report by the Secretary-General, will convert UNOMIL into a good offices mission.

Finally, in our view the Liberian factions bear direct responsibility for the existing crisis and, therefore, only they can decide the fate of the Liberian people. My delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution in the hope that it will make a decisive contribution to the promotion of peace, reconciliation and stability in Liberia.

Mr. Ubalijoro (Rwanda): At the outset, I should like to express to you, Mr. President, our profound gratitude and appreciation for the exemplary and dynamic manner in which you have conducted the business of the Security Council this month. Allow me also to bid you farewell, as you are about to retire from the diplomatic service. The support and help you have given to my delegation as a representative of a country that is a good friend of Rwanda's will always be treasured and remembered.

I should also like to thank your predecessor, the Ambassador of France, Jean-Bernard Mérimée, for the able manner in which he conducted the Council's affairs last month.

My delegation attaches particular importance to the draft resolution before the Council because we strongly empathize with our Liberian brothers for the painful daily ordeals they are currently being challenged with. After carefully considering the Secretary-General's eleventh progress report on the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) and the encouraging briefing of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Anthony Nyakyi, my delegation is more than convinced that it should vote in favour of the extension of UNOMIL's mandate until 15 September 1995. My delegation is also of the view that a two-and-a-half month renewal of UNOMIL's mandate must not be considered a huge request, even though certain difficulties continue to prevail, such as the lack of respect for the cease-fire, lack of respect for the arms embargo and other frustrating delays that continue to hinder many of the efforts carried out in the tireless search for a peaceful solution to the Liberian conflict.

My delegation is also of the view that it is of paramount importance for UNOMIL's mandate to be extended at this critical juncture in order to reassure the people of Liberia and simultaneously to send a strong message to the key political players in the Liberian conflict, telling them that at the present time not only is the fate of their people in their hands, but also that an entire nation's chances of survival depend on their good sense, *bona fides* and responsibility. It is imperative that the leaders of the Liberian factions learn from the lessons of Rwanda last year, where a handful of evil-minded and careless politicians of a former regime, inspired by political opportunism and demagoguery, plunged our country into one of the most frightening, horrendous and barbaric bloodbaths in the history of mankind.

My delegation openly welcomes the presence of UNOMIL in Liberia because of its good intentions, strong commitment and determination to do well in Liberia. My delegation would also like to congratulate the regional and subregional efforts carried out by African countries in their quest for a peaceful solution to the Liberian conflict. There is no need to recall that the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) were deployed in Liberia at a very critical moment, when the situation in Liberia was at the peak of

escalation and about to degenerate into unprecedented disaster.

In this connection, considering the positive momentum in the current peace negotiations, we should like to reiterate that the time has come for the international community to provide Liberia with adequate resources. Indeed, we strongly believe that the regional and subregional organizations have made significant efforts in trying to promote peace in Liberia. In this regard, considering the difficult economic situation and lack of means, my delegation would like to call upon the moral authority of the international community to give Liberia, regional organizations and subregional organizations a hand so that in the times to come Africans will gain more skills, experience, and ability in solving their own problems without necessarily having to call on third parties to solve problems that they do not consider theirs.

The President: I thank the representative of Rwanda for the kind words he addressed to me.

The Council will now proceed to the vote on the draft resolution contained in document S/1995/521.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Botswana, China, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Honduras, Indonesia, Italy, Nigeria, Oman, Russian Federation, Rwanda, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1001 (1995).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mrs. Albright (United States of America): I, along with my colleagues, would like to congratulate you, Mr. President, on a remarkable month, which was indeed calm. You did an exemplary job. I should also like to offer my personal congratulations on your retirement and your brilliant career. We will miss you and we wish you Godspeed.

Today the Council faces once again the tragic situation in Liberia. My Government supports today's resolution extending the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) despite our deep disappointment over the progress of that Mission. My Government, along with many others, has laboured hard to bring about peace in that country. The United States has contributed the bulk of the money in the special Trust Fund for Liberia — over $20 million. We have appointed a Special Envoy to assist with the Liberian peace process. Sadly, we have not had the cooperation of the Liberian parties, which remain engaged in a brutal struggle for power that no faction can win.

Despite the diplomatic efforts by Ghanaian President Rawlings to bring the Liberian factions together, there is no accepted political settlement. Despite the commendable efforts of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOMOG) forces to provide security, the fighting continues.

The international community sent UNOMIL to monitor a cease-fire. But the fighting did not cease. Instead, UNOMIL troops have been abused and humiliated by the warlords whose country and people they came to assist. Humanitarian relief workers also came to help. But the ravages against innocent civilians did not stop. Instead, relief workers have been harassed and treated with inhumanity.

The political future of Liberia depends on the willingness of the Liberian factions to compromise. We have been patient. We have extended UNOMIL for over a year now, each time with sterner warnings to the Liberian factions. But patience must have a purpose. In April we pinned our hopes on the regional summit, providing the Liberians with a series of recommended steps to show their dedication to the cause of peace. But again we have been disappointed. Not one of those steps has been carried out.

The Council agrees today to one more extension of UNOMIL, at the urging of the States in the region that see a faint glimmer of hope. But the Liberians must understand that words will no longer be enough to convince us that they want peace: there must be actions. Unless by 15 September there is a real cease-fire, the installation and assumption of real authority by a new Council of State, a serious commitment by all the factions to disarmament and disengagement and a specific schedule for the rest of the peace process, UNOMIL will end.

The members of this Council and the Members of the United Nations still have hope for Liberia. This final extension of the mandate of UNOMIL is an expression of our hope. But it is a hope that can be fulfilled only if those who are prolonging the conflict recognize that there is no real future for them or their country in the absence of a commitment to peace.

The President: I thank the representative of the United States for the kind words she addressed to me.

Mr. Thiebaud (France) (*interpretation from French*): Nearly two years ago the Security Council decided to establish the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL). The operation was created to follow up on the agreement between the Liberian parties concluded at Cotonou on 25 July 1993. When it adopted resolution 866 (1993), the Security Council thought that peace would soon be restored in Liberia and that free and democratic elections would soon be held there.

Two years have gone by, and unfortunately nothing has happened. To the contrary, the situation in Liberia continues to deteriorate. Following the Cotonou agreement, other agreements have been signed, first at Akosombo, then at Accra on 21 December 1994. These agreements have been systematically violated. The cease-fire was broken as early as September last year. The humanitarian situation has become increasingly alarming. And UNOMIL is no longer able to fulfil the mandate entrusted to it by the Council.

Yet it cannot be said that the international community has not been patient. Perhaps it has been a little too patient. The resolution we have just adopted has the virtue of stating things clearly. It underscores three basic elements. First of all, it recalls that a final settlement of the crisis in Liberia depends primarily on the determination of the factions to reach an agreement. We consider, indeed, that the factions bear full responsibility for the situation of hundreds of thousands of civilians, who have had to leave their villages to seek refuge in the capital or in neighbouring countries.

Secondly, it gives the Liberians a further two and a half months to sit down at the negotiating table and fully implement the Akosombo and Accra agreements, including the installation of the Council of State, the re-establishment of the cease-fire, the disengagement of all forces, and the creation of a new timetable for the implementation of the peace agreements, in particular the disarmament process.

Finally, if the factions make no effort to overcome their differences, the Council will take the logical step of ending the existence of UNOMIL.

The Council's message is therefore crystal clear: the factions must understand that we consider 15 September to be a sort of ultimatum. If wisdom prevails over conflict, however, the United Nations will continue to help Liberians restore peace and democracy in their country. Hence, we take one final opportunity to encourage all those of good will — first and foremost the faction leaders, but also the leaders of countries of the region — to seize the opportunity presented by this resolution.

My delegation expresses its warm gratitude for the efforts made thus far by President Rawlings and by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Nyakyi, who is our line of communications with all parties in the field.

The war in Liberia has continued for more than five years. It has cost some 150,000 lives. An entire country has been ravaged. It is shocking to note that the warlords seem to be satisfied with this tragic situation. My Government hopes that the appeal of the Council will be heeded, and that Liberia will soon return to the path of progress and reconciliation.

Mr. Al-Khussaiby (Oman): We too wish to join the representative of the United States in congratulating you, Sir, on a smooth month during your presidency. We would like also to wish you the very best on your way towards retirement.

Oman has joined the consensus and voted in favour of the resolution just adopted, extending the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) until 15 September 1995, because we continue to be of the opinion that the international community should continue to render its support to the Liberian peace process, albeit not indefinitely or unconditionally. In this connection, we support the linkage in paragraph 2 between the continuation of that support and the need for immediate action on the part of the Liberian parties to peacefully resolve their differences and achieve national reconciliation.

The resolution we have just adopted is, in our opinion, different from previous Security Council resolutions on the situation in Liberia in the sense that it is not a "business-as-usual" renewal of mandate, and

could well be the last of its kind unless substantial progress is achieved by the parties towards the implementation of the Akosombo and Accra agreements.

Furthermore, the message contained in this resolution is loud and clear: the parties have had ample time to demonstrate their desire for peace. Now, the time has come for them to make a choice: either they continue down the path of sustained fighting and political stalemate, in which case they cannot and should not count on the international community's support for the peace efforts in their country; or, on the other hand, they demonstrate through concrete steps the political will necessary to bring the long-standing Liberian crisis to an end. In that case, they would richly deserve the sustained support of the international community. We sincerely hope that the Liberian parties will opt for the second course of action and take full advantage of the next two and a half months to implement fully and in good faith the steps mentioned in paragraph 4 of resolution 1001 (1995), which we have just adopted.

UNOMIL, in conjunction with the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), has made a tireless effort to assist the Liberian people to overcome their tragedy. While we commend and salute these efforts, we reiterate the very important fact that the burden of achieving peace and national reconciliation rests primarily on the Liberian people themselves. Accordingly, we urge the Liberian parties to demonstrate a sense of responsibility by overcoming their differences pertaining to the installation of the Council of State and to the implementation of the relevant aspects of the Cotonou and Accra agreements so that the Liberian people can ultimately taste the fruit of peace, security and stability.

Finally, we commend the Secretary-General, his Special Representative, ECOMOG and UNOMIL for their tireless efforts in assisting the Liberian people to bring about a peaceful settlement of their conflict.

The President: I thank the representative of Oman for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Sidorov (Russian Federation) (*interpretation from Russian*): We wish first of all to thank you, Sir, for your skilful leadership of the Security Council during the month of June, and to extend to you our best wishes on your forthcoming departure from New York.

The Russian Federation is gravely concerned at the complex situation in Liberia and at the continued fratricidal armed conflict in that country, which has brought countless disasters to the civilian population and which threatens the further destabilization of the situation in the region.

We note with regret that half a year has passed since the signing of the Accra agreement, but that the Liberian parties have not implemented its basic provisions, thus demonstrating a clear disregard for the future of their own country and for the aspirations of its people, a people essentially held hostage to the personal political ambitions of the leaders of the armed factions.

The continuing political impasse in the Liberian peace process is a sign of a dangerous trend, also manifested in the Liberian parties' disregard of the numerous appeals issued by the international community and by African regional organizations, in particular the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and of the vigorous efforts aimed at the speedy achievement of a political settlement in that country. The situation that has now arisen there compels us to think seriously about the need for a thorough review of the role of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) along the lines of the proposals set forth in the Secretary-General's report.

The Russian delegation voted in favour of the resolution that has just been adopted, doing so on the basis of the premise that it is adequate to deal with the real state of affairs in Liberia. It contains an extremely clear-cut and stern warning to the effect that the Security Council will not permit any further disregard of its decisions and does not intend to renew the mandate of UNOMIL if the concrete provisions necessary for the real launching of the peace process in Liberia have not been complied with by 15 September. At the same time, the resolution makes clear the international community's readiness actively to promote the peace process in that country, including a period of post-conflict peace-building, if the conditions that have been set are fulfilled.

Obviously, the restoration of peace and national reconciliation in Liberia is first and foremost a matter for Liberians themselves. We venture to hope that this time the Liberian parties will correctly assess the full seriousness of the international community's intentions and carefully weigh all the consequences, and will not miss what might be the last real chance for a speedy settlement of the political crisis in Liberia.

The President: I thank the representative of the Russian Federation for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Ferrarin (Italy): Allow me first of all to express my delegation's warmest congratulations to you, Mr. President, for the outstanding way in which you have presided over the work of the Security Council during the month of June and to convey its best wishes to you on your way to retirement.

Italy welcomes the adoption of the resolution on the renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) until 15 September 1995.

During the course of the consultations we, like many other delegations, stated that unless the warring factions reached a major breakthrough in the ongoing political negotiations and took some practical steps to begin implementing the Akosombo and Accra agreements the UNOMIL mandate could not be renewed. We also share the Secretary-General's view that in that event UNOMIL would have to be turned into a good-offices mission.

As others have already said, the true and real victim of the present situation in Liberia is the civilian population. The United Nations and the international community have a responsibility not to abandon Liberian men, women and children to the chaos and violence of civil war. But once again we must point out that attempts to provide aid and material assistance to Liberia have been hindered by obstacles set up by the factions.

Our hope is therefore that the parties in conflict can finally reach an understanding, in the higher interest of peace and stability in the country and in the entire region. There are still some grounds for optimism, thanks to the mediation of the countries of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), whose action we highly commend. The Liberian factions must not waste this last opportunity. They must realize that the prosecution of the conflict can only make it impossible for the international community to continue to provide assistance to the country. The experiences of the recent past have taught us that there is little that the United Nations and the international community can do if there is no true desire for peace on the part of the parties in conflict.

We therefore renew our appeal to the Liberian factions to go back in good faith to the negotiating table.

The President: I thank the representative of Italy for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Cárdenas (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like first to convey to you, Sir, our great thanks for your excellent work as President of the Security Council and as Germany's representative to the Council.

I should like to thank the Secretary-General for his comprehensive report on the situation in Liberia. We regret the sombre picture that it paints. Since the adoption of the Council's resolution in April the parties in Liberia have been unable to make any substantive progress in respect of almost any of the measures in that resolution that the Security Council urged them to take. We are referring to the installation of the Council of State, the re-establishment of the cease-fire and steps towards the implementation of the other provisions of the Accra agreement.

As a result of the current state of affairs the humanitarian situation continues to deteriorate, and violations of human rights persist. Indeed, those who are trying to alleviate difficulties in the field have themselves been victims of mistreatment.

For all these reasons the Council is obliged, in this resolution, to reiterate identical appeals. Despite this, the convening of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) summit, while not entirely productive, resulted, in the view of the Heads of State and Government of ECOWAS, in considerable progress towards an agreement on many of the outstanding issues. And the door was left open for the convening of another meeting of the Liberian parties.

As a result of that summit, according to information provided by the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Ambassador Nyakyi — to whom we express our deep appreciation for the work he is doing — contacts between some of the Liberian factions and countries of the region have made progress, making possible an additional meeting of those factions in the near future.

In this connection, we should like to emphasize the positive nature of the meeting held between the Nigerian authorities and Mr. Charles Taylor, the leader of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia. These positive signs give the impression that, finally, there may be a slight change in the factions' attitude to the conflict, and the Council therefore stands ready to provide the Liberian parties with a new opportunity. However, this additional

opportunity will merely be a repetition of the one that was offered in April.

The lack of concrete progress in the political process and, which is even more serious, with regard to the cease-fire, the lack of harmonization in the policies and efforts of all the parties involved and the unfortunate continuation of the flow of arms to the country have now made it necessary to make international support conditional on the existence of real, concrete political will among the parties peacefully to resolve their differences and achieve national reconciliation. This is why the UNOMIL mandate is being renewed for a period of two and a half months, on the understanding that the parties will comply with the terms of paragraph 4 of the resolution. The future of UNOMIL, as indicated in paragraphs 5 and 6, is entirely in the hands of the Liberian parties.

We should like particularly to acknowledge the African countries that have provided troops for the Monitoring Group of ECOWAS (ECOMOG) and the positive role that that body has been playing through its efforts to establish peace, security and stability in Liberia. We are encouraging it to continue unfailingly to discharge its mandate and to undertake measures that would reinforce the embargo on the supply of weapons to Liberia.

We also commend UNOMIL for they way in which it has accomplished its difficult tasks and encourage it to step up its cooperation with ECOMOG in the discharge of their respective mandates. We hope that the international community will continue to contribute to the peace process in Liberia, to alleviate the humanitarian situation of its suffering people and to help the forces of ECOMOG fully to discharge their mandate.

It is our hope that the leaders of the various factions will now be able to deal squarely with the situation. They should not let this opportunity, which may be their last, elude them. They must heed their peoples and the combatants in Liberia who, tired of war, would surely welcome the speedy implementation of the peace process.

The President: I thank the representative of Argentina for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Kovanda (Czech Republic): Allow me, too, to congratulate you, Sir, on your service as your country's representative on the Security Council this year, culminating in your skilful management of the Council as its President this month. Your tenure among us has amounted to a fitting capstone to your long and distinguished diplomatic career, and we will miss you.

Liberia is in imminent danger of becoming another failure for the peace-keeping efforts of the United Nations. It has been said all too often that there is no place for peace-keepers where there is no peace to keep. This is demonstrably the case in that tormented country. The factions of the civil war are splitting into ever smaller, ever more vicious, ever more self-centred splinter groups whose members are frequently interested in little more than self-aggrandizement, personal gain, killing for the sake of killing, and drugs. It is precisely the people of Liberia who bear the ultimate responsibility for achieving peace and national reconciliation. The price the international community is prepared to pay to help them in this effort is fast reaching its limits.

The last time we discussed Liberia in this forum, there was a glimmer of hope extended by the factions: the meeting in Abuja. That meeting was postponed from one date to the next and in the end achieved results which, to be generous, we can only describe as modest. Charles Taylor's absence from Abuja was in our view inexcusable.

Today, these same factions are dangling another promise of hope in front of the Security Council. But many of us are fed up. We have voted to extend the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) for another two-and-a-half months. But we insist that, during this period, the wrangling concerning Liberia's Council of State finally end and that it be installed, that a real cease-fire come into effect, that all forces disengage and that a serious timetable be agreed upon to deal with all other aspects of the Akosombo and Accra agreements, especially as concerns disarmament. The factions are understandably interested in keeping UNOMIL in the country, not only for economic reasons, but also for public relations purposes. But my country, for one — which for several years now has contributed soldiers to UNOMIL — will be hard pressed not to demand its withdrawal if, come September, the conditions outlined in operative paragraph 4 of resolution 1001 (1995) are not met.

Of course, if left alone, factions can fight only up to a point — only until their resources are exhausted. We therefore highlight again the importance of the arms embargo this Council has imposed on Liberia. And we note with distress that external support and what the Secretary-General delicately describes as the "lack of

harmonization" of the policies of Liberia's neighbours (*S/1995/473, para. 11*), contribute to the tearing of that country asunder. To note, as does the preamble of today's resolution, that a

> "concerted and harmonized effort ... would be helpful to advance the peace process" (*resolution 1001 (1995), sixth preambular paragraph*)

is a very self-effacing way of telling Liberia's neighbours: Stop meddling. Stop supplying the factions with arms. Stop pursuing your own objectives at the expense of Liberia's peace.

There is one other troubling aspect of the Liberian situation: the shortcomings in cooperation between UNOMIL and the Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). The parallel and concerted functioning of the two forces has been viewed as a model for Chapter VIII-style cooperation between a United Nations observer mission and a regional force in other parts of the world as well. It is therefore all the more disturbing that, at the working level, this cooperation "has not always been satisfactory", to quote the Secretary-General (*S/1995/473, para. 20*). We salute the ECOWAS countries that have been shouldering the burden of ECOMOG, but we are particularly concerned that ECOMOG provide the necessary security for UNOMIL personnel, in line with the Cotonou Agreement, as specified in paragraph 12 of the resolution we have just adopted.

The President: I thank the representative of the Czech Republic for his kind words addressed to me.

I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of Germany.

My country has voted in favour of extending the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL). I should, however, like to state the following:

We are very much concerned that concrete progress in the implementation of the peace accords is still lacking. This concerns especially the establishment of the cease-fire and the installation of the Council of State. We regret that UNOMIL is subject to numerous restrictions in the field and is therefore not able to fulfil its mandate in a satisfactory manner.

We hope that the ongoing negotiations among the member States of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the parties to the conflict will, in the end, yield a peaceful solution to the conflict. In this context, the forthcoming meetings in Abuja are an opportunity not to be missed.

Although the people of Liberia bear the ultimate responsibility for achieving peace and national reconciliation, the continued efforts of ECOWAS States to harmonize their policies on Liberia and to promote the implementation of the Accra agreement, including tightening the application of the arms embargo, will play a decisive role. We recognize the important role which the cease-fire Monitoring Group of the ECOWAS States (ECOMOG), together with UNOMIL, is playing in the efforts to contribute to the peace process in Liberia.

It should, however, be clear that the mission of UNOMIL with its present tasks and force strength can be continued in a meaningful way only if conditions in Liberia allow it to fulfil its mandate. The mission will, therefore, have to be converted into a good offices mission if substantial progress in the peace process cannot be demonstrated by the end of its present mandate. In this context, the parties to the conflict will be held to the letter of the resolution which the Security Council has just adopted.

They should install the Council of State, re-establish a comprehensive and effective cease-fire, disengage all forces and agree on a timetable for the implementation of all other aspects of the peace agreements, in particular the disarmament process. We strongly urge the parties to the conflict to seize this opportunity, which may be the last.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

There are no further speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda. The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 1.40 p.m.